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'69 Report to Nixon Was Split on War

A Kissinger Study

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In what could prove a virtual replay of the Pentagon papers dispute, a government study of the Vietnam war—prepared for President Nixon just after he took office three years ago—is being circulated here and has come into the possession of several reporters and publications.

The unpublished report was put together under the direction of presidential aide Henry A. Kissinger.

It was designed to help lay out policy alternatives in Vietnam for the new Nixon administration. It was completed in February, 1969.

Titled "Responses to National Security Study Memorandum 1," the document concentrates on the political and military situation in North and South Vietnam.

Although different government agencies making evaluations all responded somewhat differently to the basic questions posed, the document in general concludes that while bombing had a substantial impact, it was not playing a decisive role in the war.

Reports of the existence of a "Kissinger study"—called "NSSM-1" for short—began to circulate on Capitol Hill last week. The study was quoted by columnist Jack Anderson in newspapers yesterday. A discussion of the document, along with several purported excerpts, also appears in the current issue of Newsweek magazine.

Several copies of the document are believed to be circulating in Washington. One has been obtained by The Washington Post.

A copy is said to be in the possession of Sen. Mike Gravel (D-Alaska). Gravel hopes to read it into the Congressional Record on the Senate floor today.

Regardless of its classification the document would become privileged and part of the public record if Gravel succeeds in obtaining permission to make it part of the official Senate debate.

It was Gravel who, only nine months ago, obtained a copy of the then-classified Pentagon papers from a private source and read them into the record of a hastily called subcommittee meeting shortly after their publication had begun in The New York Times. The repercussions of that act are still echoing, as the Justice De-

partment—while conceding Gravel's congressional immunity—nevertheless sought to question his aides about the incident. The case was argued before the Supreme Court only last week.

Gravel's reading of the Pentagon papers, at a subcommittee meeting that many senators felt was illegally called, angered a number of senators. His reading of the Kissinger-NSSM study today is likely to rekindle some of that resentment.

The NSSM-1 study was ordered by the Nixon administration on Jan. 21, 1969—

as one of its first acts after coming to office on a pledge to end the war.

Kissinger apparently posed 28 questions about the war and the bombing. They sought to determine the ability of the enemy forces to keep up their flow of material to the battle areas, enemy forces to continue fighting and to keep up their flow of materiel to the battle areas.

The answers were provided by the CIA, Defense Department and State Department, and they varied widely.

The CIA, in one of its reports, quoted by Newsweek, said, "The air war did not seriously affect the flow of men and supplies to Communist forces in Lao and South Vietnam. Nor did it significantly erode North Vietnam's military defense capability or Hanoi's determination to persist in the war."

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